ADDRESS

OF

ROBERT W. JOHNSON,

TO THE

CITIZENS OF ARKANSAS.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 29, 1850.

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F.B.

TO THE CITIZENS OF ARKANSAS.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 29, 1850.

Matters of the gravest import will be under constant consideration during the present session of Congress. There are few Southern men in this Congress who will not subscribe to it when I assert that the union of the Northern and Southern States, under a common Government, for a period beyond the present Congress, is a matter that may be seriously questioned.

Legislatures and Conventions have met in many of the Southern States, and have declared that they will regard the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso as a violation of the Constitution, alike degrading to the Southern people and destructive of their rights and property. Without descending to particulars, the action of every regularly constituted assembly of Southern people has been conceived in this spirit, and has resulted in the declaration that the South cannot and will not submit.

The Legislatures of a number of the Southern States have passed resolutions approving the call of a Southern Convention, to sit at Nashville in June next; have provided for the appointment of delegates to that Convention, by legislative, executive, or popular action; and it is on foot to appropriate means to defray their expenses.

It seems expected of that Convention, whenever it shall assemble, that our true condition shall be realized, that the impending destruction of the political equality of the South, the future subjugation of her interests to hostile power, and the ultimate prostration of her people, *shall be made manifest*, if true, and that such action, in view of all facts, shall be recommended as shall be most proper for the South.

Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, have already united in the call of a Southern Convention. North Carolina exhibits the strongest sympathy. Maryland has declared that if we have a dissolution, her standard shall be raised with the South. Kentucky, in her recent struggle, has repudiated the Northern spirit. Florida is extreme; and our own State has repeatedly declared her position with the South, upon the subject of the Proviso, by solemn resolutions of her Legislatures, and her various State Conventions. Her pride and spirit, her devotion to Southern rights, none will dare question. My confidence is equally strong in the zeal, firmness, and devotion of Tennessee, Missouri, Louisiana, and Texas.

Thus we are united, and will present to the world one united brotherhood, and will move in one column under a banner on whose folds shall be inscribed—EQUALITY OR INDEPENDENCE; OUR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE UNION.

I now write to express the hope that, whenever a meeting of the Southern States in Convention shall occur, Arkansas will not be unrepresented; and that her representation may be selected from the wisest and ablest of her sons, without respect to any ordinary prejudice.

The immediate difficulty is, as to the admission of California, from which, by her Constitution, the South is excluded; and the disposition of all other of the national territory, from which it is boldly and imperiously declared, the South and her institutions *shall be expelled.*

These are stern issues, when we consider that the present position of California is a *shameless fraud* upon the South, a fraud in inception and in execution, and, if carried out, will be a fraud in consummation—stern issues, when we consider that there are those who claim her admission on principles of non-intervention, and yet who (the whole of them, almost) would have scornfully repulsed this application for admission, had California, in her organic law, recognized slavery, or *even preserved silence on the subject.* I shall vote against her admission, as I shall believe the perpetuity of the Union involved, and, as a loyal citizen of the Union, I shall embrace every resort and exhaust every means, to aid in the defeat of the measure, believing as I do, that with her admission, unless all other of these questions be first satisfactorily settled, the Union ought and will dissolve.

These issues involve the whole of the slave States, to the extent of their political equality. That political equality is every thing; without it, in ten years, a slave holder will become an object for the finger of shame in the North, and contempt, if not abhorence, throughout the world. Even now, our most pious ministers are religiously rejected by their Northern brethren from the Northern pulpit, on the score of slavery. And in thirty years more, we shall be utterly overpowered, and our people prostrated, should we yield to the present frightful demands.

How can we submit to a Union thus to be perverted? We know that the Constitution recognized and guarantied the rights of our people to hold and enjoy their slave property; we know that the Union never would have been formed by our forefathers without these provisions; and we are fully aware, both of our rights, and our ability to defend them.

In all national elections we are at the mercy of the North; in the House of Representatives all political equality is gone; the political balance in the Senate has at length, at last, faded out. If there are those who do not as yet feel fear of the future, I beseech them most earnestly to pause and reflect—to scan closely the events of

the last fifteen years—and if they shall then feel no doubt as to their personal safety, the security of their rights and property, and of that of their own immediate descendants—their children—*I shall feel surprise.*

Those events show a *startling development* of abolition. They exhibit a complete *revolution* in the principles and action of the North towards us. If fifteen years have put us to the wall, what will thirty do?

Twenty years ago, (which is a short time,) there was not an abolition newspaper in the entire North, *but now*, with exceptions barely enough to establish the rule, *they are all such*, by the principles of Free-soil. Indeed, we have more abolition prints now published and patronized within our own Southern limits, than were then to be found in the entire North.

The North itself, (with the exception of a few Congressional Districts, standing out, exceptions, monuments of justice and firmness,) *is wholly against us.* Every solitary journal, every candidate, from a constable to a Senator, publicly proclaims opposition to slavery in the abstract, publicly opposes the increase of slave States; and their people all cry amen. What does it mean but the Wilmot Proviso?—*that the South shall not settle upon any part of the new territories*, though it be common property, acquired by common toil, expense, and suffering.

Fifteen years ago there was hardly one in the House of Representatives, from the North, who would not recognize and defend the rights of the South, and the happy equilibrium of power. *But now*, there is not one who does not condemn our institutions, *in the abstract*, as they say, and not twenty who will not denounce us by their speeches, and proscribe us by their votes, although we are provided for and protected by the very Constitution which gives them seats. They violate the Constitution, and then demand that we shall not only conform to it, but submit to their acts.

Twelve years ago, feeling secure in their constitutional guaranty, the pride and sensitiveness of the South were such, that when an attempt was made to discuss slavery, the entire Southern delegation arose, indignantly, as one man, and pledged themselves to quit the Halls of the House. *But now*, Southern members sit tamely, under degrading debate, suffer it in silence, and pocket without reply, the most insulting epithets, such as "*overbearing slaveocracy*," "*lords of the lash*," "*dealers in human flesh and blood*," *et id omne genus.* The extent to which these denunciations go, will be best shown by the following extract, which I make from an editorial in the New York Herald; (and I say that I have heard very nearly its equal in degradation to the South, addressed from the lips of members of the House of Representatives)—to wit:

"At this very time an anti-slavery convention has been sitting at Syracuse, a city in this State, in order to organize their elements and consolidate their party throughout the

North, assuming the most ultra and dangerous grounds upon this very question before the people of the North. The agitators at this Convention now holding in Syracuse, boldly declare that "*the time is come to preach disunion on the highest moral and religious grounds;*" that the Constitution of the United States "*is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.*" "*In the name of God, of Christ, of Humanity, of Liberty. it must be denounced and repudiated by all who revere God, love Christ, regard Humanity, and cherish Liberty.*" "*The government which is framed to accommodate the slaveholder ceases to deserve allegiance, and must be overthrown.*"

Years ago, the spirit of justice and regard for our rights under the Constitution were such, that the North, on the motion of a Northern member, united with the South to pass a vote of such censure upon Joshua R. Giddings for an attempt to introduce, what would now be regarded as a most mild set of resolutions, as to produce his resignation.* *But now,* worse are offered and debated, almost the entire North unite in it, and on every question involving the settlement of the Territories, there is a fixed, large, and relentless majority to exclude absolutely the South and its property.

Abolition of slavery, insignificant at its outset, contemptible for years, always antagonistic to the compromises and spirit of the Constitution, has ripened into power. It has become a political element of the first magnitude, and has assumed a title of its own. It is composed of whigs and democrats, from the North; proves itself daily, and will invariably prove itself, whenever a vote is taken, *to be the largest party in the House of Representatives.*

The immediate commencement, of which we are now witnessing the conclusion, occurred within the last fifteen years. January 2*th, 1840, the 21st rule was adopted as the remedy to arrest, what was then regarded as a mere annoyance. In four years this rule was swept off.

In this connection it can well be said that Abolition has had most distinguished champions. Its infancy was nurtured and cherished by a disappointed Northern whig ex-President; the glory of making manifest its maturity and power was left to a disappointed Northern democratic ex-President. The first was a traitor to the fathers of the Republic—the last is a traitor to honor and all. As a lover of the Republic, which their agency will wreck, I will not desecrate my pen by recording their names.

From year to year this wretched spirit has rapidly advanced on us, until, in this 31st Congress, we are thrown utterly at mercy. A majority in the Senate, and a majority of near thirty in the House, is against us; and we, of the South, are blessed with an Executive and Cabinet, who get up new States upon our common territory, and recommend their admission into this Union with clauses in their organic law that utterly prohibit and exclude the Southern people their constitutional property and rights.

Already, they have *sixteen* States to our *fourteen.* California, with the advice, invitation, and guardianship of our Executive, (and we may well say without census, or citizens,) has formed a

State Government, elected her Senators and two Representatives, and after excluding peremptorily the entire South, is demanding admission into this Union, for what? As far as we are concerned, to cast herself in the scales against us, and to add to the already disheartening disparity between us.

In a few years also, Oregon, Minesota, New Mexico, Deseret, and Nebraska, must be admitted, under the same precedent, with the same restrictions, *as free States;* and should Mr. Benton's bill carry, a new State shall be formed out of that part of Texas which lies north of 36° 30′, making in the next *five or ten years, twenty-three free States to our fourteen.*

What will then be our hope, to defend successfully our institutions, against Northern aggression? Already New York declares the proposition to cut off from Texas the country which lies between the Nueces and Rio Grande, *and to proclaim it free territory,*† This is the policy they have so often announced, *to hem us in,* and annually circumscribe our limits, *and crowd freemen and slaves into the smallest possible space, until they starve or destroy each other.*

The most moderate men we have—men whose adherence to the South might almost be questioned, are inflamed at the prospect which this opens up to our future. I will not elaborate. Sensible men of our country can see the consequences, horrible as they would become in half a century; and it is our duty, not only to provide for our comfort, but to leave to our children such institutions as shall preserve their throats from the knife, and their country from waste and desolation.

Should we adopt the recommendation to admit California, and should all the new States enumerated be admitted in ten years, making twenty-three, *would aggression cease, or would the number of free States cease to increase?* Certainly not; and we should still have an amount of territory to make *ten or twelve more free States.*

If those should be admitted against us in the next twenty-five years, are we at the end of this summary of adverse powers? By no means; we can return to what we have overlooked. Great Britain now offers independence to the Canadas. Already the political parties are arrayed for annexation and anti-annexation. Those who favor annexation, will triumph ultimately. They are then to be thrust upon us, and if this shall not be enough, to burst the bonds of our Union, Great Britain will add New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and her possessions to the Rocky Mountains. It will be the price of our disunion, which shall throw into her arms the only essential and richest commerce of the world, that of the South, and open to her fabrics, on equal terms with the North, a market for millions and millions.

If productive of such results, the policy would be to her incalculable advantage, *and the price a mere bagatelle.*

Can the South live in a Union, where every power is hostile to her institutions and prosperity? Can she submit, where every movement of the North is aggressive and accretive?

But many will think the South would do well to submit—be satisfied with her present extent—her property is safe within the States—those States are protected within the express words of the Constitution. Of what value is that protection, if there shall be States enough in twenty or thirty years to change the Constitution and rob us or our children. We shall not then be so able to contend with thirty or more States as now with sixteen.

But, within ten years to come, there will be no necessity to change the Constitution. Time sanctifies wrong, and constitutions change with construction, to suit power. A war of passion will waste away the Constitution.

It existed once as a principle, that no petition could be received whose prayer was in conflict with the Constitution. *Now*, you may petition to desecrate or destroy the Constitution or Government. It is a recognized right. *Time and submission have sanctified it.* The Constitution will not protect us in ten years. Already has Vermont‡ asserted, in solemn legislative action, that *Congress has power over slavery in every State*, except the *original parties to the compact.* Five of the slave States were parties; *the other nine were not*, and of course by this doctrine Congress has power to abolish slavery in them. The doctrine seems monstrous now, but so did the same doctrine when first applied to the District of Columbia and the Territories. It excites unmitigated disgust and bitter denunciation now, but so did all the early efforts of abolition. Time will sanctify this, as it has all the past; and in fifteen years from this, every Northern State will have adopted the Vermonter's platform. Would you then submit, or would you dissolve the bonds of Union?

I am opposed to a dissolution, and am disposed still to attempt what has been hitherto—I cannot deny it—a mere flimsy barrier of ink and paper. But I will not vote for the admission of California thus, and I will no more of any doctrine that may be, and particularly that has been, so miserably and fraudulently perverted as that of non-intervention. I demand that a line shall intervene between North and South, and from ocean to ocean. *It will not save this Union;* but it will save it for some years. I submit now to the calm sense of the people, whether we should not now demand this, or some other such final, conclusive, and decisive settlement of these Territorial contests, as shall forever put them to rest.

When we look at the imminent peril that surrounds us, it demands all our firmness—the exercise of all our wisdom. Old parties in Congress are rapidly dissolving upon this question; old political landmarks are becoming rapidly defaced. It is a question of North and South; and if I would be to my State, and her dear-

est interests, a faithful public servant, I must speak as I have spoken. I cannot declare these facts too solemnly; I cannot make them too impressive.

The Northern States, *en masse*, have instructed their delegations, and will be obeyed, (with a few memorable exceptions,) to *exclude the South and her property* from our new Territories; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to abolish the slave trade between our Southern States, and to exclude slaves from all forts, arsenals, dock yards, and all other national possessions. They not only give us, through Congress, no adequate power by which the South may recover her fugitive slaves, but many of their people engage with impunity in decoying them off, whilst the Legislatures of many free States encourage and support such conduct, with enactments successfully designed to obstruct all recovery.

Much of this is done in direct violation of the Constitution, and all of it in direct violation of its true intent and spirit.

To add bitterness to contentions, already so fierce, is far from my desire. But that every Southern Representative should now declare himself, is a sacred duty. Union and firm resistance will save us, *either within or without the Union.*

The stern face presented by many Southern States, and the firmness of many Representatives here, have produced some misgivings with the North, in her course of recklessness. New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, it is said, have exhibited some slight disposition to relent towards us. I have examined this with great anxiety. It is *but slight indeed.* It satisfies me of nothing, and has resulted in nothing, unless it be that all immediate future advances *will be conducted more warily.* The Representatives of the North express regret, but propose no change in their vote. The declared policy now is to avoid the Proviso—to throw themselves upon the policy of the Cabinet—*admit the new States in detail*—adopt no policy by which Southern property can be protected in the Territory, *and admit none but free States.* Thus they will give us no excuse to dissolve, whilst they destroy the rights, and circumscribe the limits of the South. This is the Free-soiler's most deadly and dangerous phase.

The North have steadily believed that the South will submit to any enactment, however ruinous or degrading, for the sake of the Union; in other words, *for the sake of a connection under one government with them.* Whilst they labor under this error, or truth, if it be truth, *there is no redemption for us;* and of this, in both Senate and House, among Southern members, there is a general conviction.

If, then, we are to place the Union in the scale, to be weighed against degradation to our people and posterity, and ruin to our country, it will be wise that we shall estimate the nature of this Union, and its actual value. Discuss, then, these subjects at large. Discuss them as freemen. *You have a right to discuss them.* A

Government whose acts, whose benefits and evils, will not bear investigation and the searching light of discussion, and which, consequently, is sustained upon something other than its equal justice, and the confidence and affection of the people, *should be destroyed.*

The space already transgressed, to which I would confine myself, will not now admit of more than a cursory glance at facts. But all the facts shall be furnished to you amply, and as rapidly as possible, this session.

The Southern States produce every heavy staple of this Union. They are independent within themselves. COTTON, SUGAR, RICE, and TOBACCO are our own. The possession of these staples gives us peace with the world, and, if this Union is dissolved, will preserve our peace with the North. They are the life-blood of all commerce, American and European. They prevented war in regard to our North-Eastern Boundary. They won for us a peaceful settlement of the Oregon question. They gave us peace with Great Britain, through Texas annexation, and the Mexican war, and they will preserve our peace with the world, or give us allies and navies that cannot live without our commerce.

The protection now given is almost all to the North and its manufacturers. Should this Union be dissolved, those loud advocates of protection *will change sides, and cry out for free-trade.* Their policy will change, because they will have no South upon which to saddle the burden. If many Southern Free-traders do not, in that event, *advocate protection,* it will be less matter.

By means of the Tariff, the revenue now raised annually, of thirty millions, is paid principally by the Southern States; and, by the same means, annually, we pay at least ten millions (I am not sure it is not thirty) to the North. *That is the protection.*

If this Union be dissolved, the same Tariff now existing, being applied to the imports of the North, as well as all other nations, will yield us a revenue of $30,000,000 to $50,000,000.

Of the revenue now collected, $20,000,000 out of the $30,000,000, are expended at the North. If the Union dissolve, instead of $10,000,000, there will be expended from $30,000,000 to $50,000,000, at the South, upon our own rivers, roads, public defences, and Government, *without a cent of increased taxation.*

Our trade will be with the world instead of the North, under compulsory laws. We can protect and foster home manufactures, or seek the cheapest markets.

Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, in the Northern productions and manufactures, will be our Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. Baltimore, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Louisville will be the recipients of all our commerce.

At present all the emigration goes to the North. Dissolve this Union and you will soon see the difference. Their manufactures are prospering beyond parallel in the world, exemplifying them-

selves in the midst of accumulated capital, extended rail-roads, new-born and prosperous cities. They attract—but dissolve, and the South will exhibit a parallel. The barren wastes of Maryland will fill up—the idle and beautiful streams of Kentucky and Missouri will be covered with factories and mills—capital will accumulate, as new, wide, and certain field of successful enterprise will be opened—emigration will pour in—arts and mechanics will attract her best votaries from the North—and the skilled and experienced of European machinists and laborers will flock to us. Additions of this character are of the first consequence. The North may think they will not be checked—it is to be hoped they will not—*but the South will certainly advance.*

The North are those who VOCIFEROUSLY DENOUNCE DISUNION. The Southerner who joins them, had better move to them. I humbly think so, and so will the people. They denounce it because they derive all the advantages. The South would do the same perhaps, if the advantage was hers. But it is not. They will not spare us whilst in the Union, and, if it were not for our power, would not spare us out.

In an elaborate article of the Democratic Review, (January number,) I find the following interesting facts, with many others not now referred to. Read the article.

Of all the exports of the Union, 75 per cent. is based upon the Southern produce. I give you a table of the profits of the North, as I find it:

Freight of Northern shipping on Southern produce	$40,186,728
Profits derived on imports at the North for Southern account	9,000,000
" of exchange operations	1,000,000
" on Northern manufactures sold at the South	22,250,000
" on Western produce descending the Mississippi	10,000,000
" on Northern capital employed at the South	6,000,000
	$88,436,728

These estimates are all exceedingly small, and do not embrace a variety of transactions, which form the basis of most corporate profits. It might also embrace the profits on sales to Western States, which are enabled to pay, by their sales to the South. Now, when we reflect that the whole of the transactions, out of which spring these profits enumerated, and also the employment of a very large portion of the Northern people, as well as one half of the whole external trade of Great Britain, with all those remotely dependent upon the persons actively engaged in the trade, we begin to form some idea of the magnitude of the crime, [as against Northern interests, be it remembered,] premeditated by the Van Buren Free-Soil Abolition party.

From this subject I now turn, and will allude to a point that more peculiarly affects us, in common with every other new State. But I cannot refrain from publishing at the end of these cursory observations, a further quotation from the same extraordinary and able article of the Democratic Review, the perusal of which I shall ask.

The policy on public lands is now the most shamefully, oppressive, and ruinous, that can possibly be conceived upon the people and territory of every new State.

From 1836, the year of the admission of Arkansas, to 1847 inclusive, the United States Government has drawn from that State for public lands, $2,447,347, making an average draft upon the State of Arkansas alone, annually, of $203,945. This sum has been paid by a population that amounted in 1836 to only 55,000, and had increased in 1846 to only 145,000. This is the tax and annual drain that impoverishes and crushes every new State; that will continue to do so until the public lands are all sold, and is a policy that is settled, and will only change with the Government that exerts it. How is it expected with this and other burdens that we pay our State debts now? This is a subject infinitely extensive, and I will not touch it further. If the North forces disunion, the new States will get rid of this policy and claim the land.

I can go no further in this communication into this branch of the subject—I have barely touched it. I have pointed out the approaches and policy of the North. We should desire to preserve the Union; but if we are to have it but as a curse, I boldly point to the remedy. In the estimate of its value, I have scarcely to say, *touched* the favorable points. The disastrous fatality of disunion to the North, who are the aggressors, *I have not touched.* I leave it to themselves to discuss their own case.

Thus boldly to speak, will bring showers of curses upon me I know. But we are free yet; and pusillanimous fear will not thread the way to our rights. I have no aspirations—at home or abroad. I do not care who like or dislike my opinions. I believe them to be correct, and will remark, that what is here said, is but the preface to what I can and would say; but that this is not the method in which to say it, nor is it probable to my own mind that I should say it so well, as others, in a few weeks, will.

In conclusion, allow me to remind you that this subject has never been agitated in Arkansas. I hope every journal will declare its position. I hope every candidate this summer will debate this question. I ask the people of each county to send me, of the most intelligent men of the county, the names and address to the number (in the ratio) of fifty to each Representative in the lower House of the General Assembly, and I will furnish them with facts and documents. I hope that our Executive, as every other one has done, from Maryland to Texas, will commend this subject to our State Legislature for its action; and I hope that they will consider of, and act upon it, as men of foresight and Southerners.

I hope that every county in the State, *between now and next June, will hold meetings*, express their sentiments freely, and take such steps as shall ensure for Arkansas a full, faithful, and able delegation in the Southern Convention; and as it is a subject above all party bias and prejudice, I openly advocate *that the delegation shall be composed equally of both political parties.*

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. W. JOHNSON.

APPENDIX.

*The following is the resolution introduced by Mr. WELLER, of Ohio, and passed by near two-thirds of Congress, March 21, 1842:

Whereas the honorable Joshua R. Giddings, the member from the 16th congressional district of the State of Ohio, has this day presented to this House a series of resolutions touching the most important interests connected with a large portion of the Union, now a subject of negotiation between the United States and Great Britain of the most delicate nature, the result of which may eventually involve these two nations, and perhaps the whole civilized world, in war: And whereas it is the duty of every good citizen, and particularly the duty of every selected agent and Representative of the people, to discountenance all efforts to create excitement, dissatisfaction, and division among the people of the United States at such a time and under such circumstances, which is the only effect to be accomplished by the introduction of sentiments before the legislative body of the country hostile to the grounds assumed by the high functionary having in charge this important and delicate trust: and whereas mutiny and murder are therein justified and approved, in terms shocking to all sense of law, order, and humanity: therefore,

Resolved, That this House hold the conduct of the said member as altogether unwarranted and unwarrantable, and deserving the severe condemnation of the people of this country, and of this body in particular.

The following are the resolutions referred to, which produced the censure of Mr. Giddings by a vote of 125 to 69.

Mr. GIDDINGS moved the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That, prior to the adoption of our Federal Constitution, each of the several States composing this Union exercised full and exclusive jurisdiction over the subject of slavery within its own territory, and possessed full power to continue or abolish it at pleasure.

2. *Resolved*, That, by adopting the Constitution, no part of the aforesaid powers were delegated to the Federal Government, but were reserved by and still pertain to each of the several States.

3. *Resolved*, That by the 8th section of the 1st article of the Constitution, each of the several States surrendered to the Federal Government all jurisdiction over the subjects of commerce and navigation upon the high seas.

4. *Resolved*, That slavery, being an abridgment of the natural rights of man, can exist only by force of positive *municipal law*, and is necessarily confined to the territorial jurisdiction of the power creating it.

5. *Resolved*, That when a ship belonging to the citizens of any State of the Union leaves the waters and territory of such State, and enters upon the high seas, the persons on board cease to be subject to the slave laws of such State, and therefore are governed in their relations to each other by, and are amenable to, the laws of the United States.

6. *Resolved*, That when the brig Creole, on her late passage for New Orleans, left the territorial jurisdiction of Virginia, the slave laws of that State ceased to have jurisdiction over the persons on board said brig, and such persons became amenable only to the laws of the United States.

7. *Resolved*, That the persons on board the said ship, in resuming their natural rights of personal liberty, violated no law of the United States, incurred no legal responsibility, and are justly liable to no punishment.

8. *Resolved*, That all attempts to regain possession of or to re-enslave said persons are unauthorized by the Constitution or laws of the United States, and are incompatible with our national honor.

9. *Resolved*, That all attempts to exert our national influence in favor of the coastwise slave trade, or to place this nation in the attitude of maintaining a "commerce in human beings," are subversive of the rights and injurious to the feelings of the free States, are unauthorized by the Constitution, and prejudicial to our national character.

The following is an extract from the January number of the Democratic Review, published in the city of New York:

A separation of the Union would involve the immediate connection of the whole South, with Mexico and the West Indies, with England; and under the exasperation that would inevitably attend such an event, the North, its ships, goods, produce and traffic, would at once be excluded. The rigor of that British exclusive system which before *drove* the independent Northern States into a union with the South, would apply with ten-fold force, and while the South has now become necessary to every country of Europe, the North has nothing to offer, being in fact a rival to each and all in manufactures. * * * * * *

The area of western lands unsold, with a large portion of that already sold, is entirely commanded by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and the possessors of its delta are the controlling power. The introduction of manufactures is most rapidly progressing in the northern slave-states, and as those become less able to compete with the more southern lands in agricultural productions, the impulse will be enhanced, and with greater success, that the improving prospects of the raw material promises to enhance the capital applicable for that purpose.

Every year the progress of affairs makes the North less necessary to the South, and makes the latter more necessary to England and Western Europe. The face of affairs is entirely changed

since Gen. Pinckney, in convention, assented to the proposition, giving Congress the right to pass laws regulating commerce by a simple majority, on the ground that it was a boon granted to the North in consideration of the necessity which the weak South had for their strong northern neighbors. The cotton trade then scarcely existed, but the material has now been spun into a web which binds the commercial world to southern interests. The North has far more need of the South to cherish her commercial and manufacturing interests, than when the merchants of Boston, headed by John Hancock, petitioned Congress to the following effect:

"Impressed with these ideas, your petitioners beg leave to request of the very august body which they now have the honor to address, that the numerous impositions of the British, on the trade and exports of these States, may be forthwith contravened by similar expedients on our part; else, may it please your excellency and honors, the commerce of this country, and, of consequence, its wealth, power, and perhaps the Union itself, may become victims to the artifice of a nation whose arms have been in vain exerted to accomplish the ruin of America."

The South is now, with institutions and capabilities, possessed of that on which half the manufacturing and commercial interests of the world depends. It is the source whence the only means of employing and feeding at least 5,000,000 whites can be drawn, and without which nearly $1,000,000,000 of active capital in ships and factory would be valueless. A country and institutions so important to the welfare of humanity at large are not to be trifled with. This country forms one-half of our glorious Union, on terms agreed upon by those immortal men who separated from England, because they would no longer suffer the continuance of the African slave trade; but in its independent position the South holds the welfare of other nations almost entirely in its keeping. The capital and laboring abilities of England are such as to afford the South an outlet for its staple, should it exclude all other customers. The result of such a movement would be to force other countries to draw their goods from England only. On the other hand, the manufacturing progress of the North is such, that in a few years she may absorb the whole of the southern staple, and place herself at the head of the manufacturing interest for the supply of the world. To the South it is comparatively of small importance whether England or the North obtains this mastery. Between the North and England it is a mortal duel, and yet in the crisis of this struggle there are to be found persons at the North so destitute of all moral sense and political acuteness, as to attack, in violation of the sacred pledge of the Constitution, those institutions which it guarantees, and which are so necessary to the interests of humanity.

† Resolutions of the Legislature of New York, in relation to slavery in the territory of New Mexico and California.

Whereas the people of the State of New Mexico have petitioned Congress for the establishment of a territorial government which shall protect them against the institution of domestic sla-

very while they remain a territory of the United States; and have also petitioned Congress for protection against the unfounded claims of the State of Texas to a large portion of their territory lying east of the Rio Grande; and whereas it would be unjust to the people of New Mexico and California, and revolting to the spirit of the age, to permit domestic slavery—an institution from which they are now free—to be introduced among them; and whereas, since the acquisition of New Mexico by the United States, the people thereof have a right to expect the protection of the general government, and should be secured in the full possession and enjoyment of their territory: Therefore,

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur,) That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress be requested, to use their best efforts to procure the passage of laws for the establishment of governments for the territory acquired by the late treaty of peace with Mexico; and that by such laws involuntary servitude, except for crime, be excluded from such territories.

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur,) That the territory lying between the Nueces and Rio Grande, and that portion of New Mexico lying east of the Rio Grande, are the common property of the United States; and that our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress be requested to use their best efforts to preserve the same as such common property, and protect it from the unfounded claims of the State of Texas, and prohibit the extension over it of the laws of Texas, or the institution of domestic slavery.

‡ The following are the resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont on the subject of slavery, presented to Congress Dec. 31, 1849:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That slavery is a crime against humanity, and a sore evil in the body politic, that was excused by the framers of the federal constitution as a crime entailed upon the country by their predecessors, and tolerated solely as a thing of inexorable necessity.

Resolved, That the so-called "compromises of the constitution" restrained the federal government from interference with slavery only in the States in which it then existed, and from interference with the slave trade only for a limited time, which has long since expired; and that the powers conferred upon Congress by the constitution to suppress the slave trade, to regulate commerce between the States, to govern the Territories, and to admit new States—powers conferred with an express intention "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity"—may all rightfully be used so as to prevent the extension of slavery into territory now free, and to abolish slavery and the slave trade wherever either exists under the jurisdiction of Congress.